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AUTHOR Schwartzman, Roy

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#### ABSTRACT

Pointing out that the growing body of literature on the Holocaust has been accompanied by concern about how knowledge of the Holocaust may be conveyed, this paper argues that elucidating links between terminology and policy invites reconsideration of what Holocaust studies should accomplish. Close textual analysis of historical artifacts is used as a prelude to constructing alternatives to rhetoric that culminates in destructive action. Using Kenneth Burke's concepts of "telos" and "logology," it traces the biologically rooted terminology of anti-Semitism in Nazi Germany as it built toward a crescendo of eliminating populations deemed racially inferior. The paper contends that identification of key metaphors--in this case, biological and medical terms--can reveal how linguistic resources that foster bigotry and genocide persist without necessarily becoming manifest in overt acts of violence. Topics discussed include: the philosophy and method of telogology and its roots in classical Greek rhetoric; the unfolding rhetorical telos toward genocide; and pedagogical applications and exercises -- concrete methods for constructing responses to the terminological and ideological choices presented via the rhetorical telos, i.e., metaphorical redirection and comic reframing. The paper concludes that the challenge facing those who engage in Holocaust studies is to cultivate an accurate understanding of the past while trying not to relive it, and that telogology, by concentrating on evolving patterns of language use, offers a way to appreciate how momentum built toward a mentality that would treat genocide as a logical outcome and necessary consequence of racial doctrines. Contains 40 references. (NKA)

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# 'Telogology' as a Rhetorical Basis for Holocaust Education

Roy Schwartzman, Ph.D.

Assistant Professor of Speech Communication
Director of the Basic Course
Department of Theatre, Speech, and Dance
University of South Carolina
Columbia, South Carolina 29208
(803) 777-0055 office and fax
(803) 787-1267 home
e-mail Schwartzman@garnet.cla.sc.edu

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# 'Telogology' as a Rhetorical Basis for Holocaust Education

The rapidly growing body of literature on the Holocaust has been accompanied by a deepening concern about how knowledge of the Holocaust may be conveyed. The watchword of efforts toward Holocaust education has been "Never forget!" with the concomitant stress on factual accuracy and understanding of the motives that led to genocide. Even the most thorough treatments of the Holocaust, however, can suffer from a "rhetorical blind spot" (Schwartzman, 1995, p. 2) by devoting insufficient attention to the role language plays in transforming anti-Semitic sentiments into genocidal policies. More generally, further investigations should be made into how, borrowing Kenneth Burke's (1966) phrasing, "language as symbolic action" facilitates the construction and support of practices that reinforce the ideals expressed via terminological choices.

Elucidating the links between terminology and policy invites a reconsideration of what Holocaust studies should accomplish. Placed in the context of classical rhetoric, study of the Holocaust could qualify as one of the few modern moves toward restoring the dormant canon of memoria. As recently as 1995, the study of memory in communication was described as "nascent" and "still unfolding" (Zelizer, 1995, p. 215). In her review of memory studies, Zelizer (1995) suggests that memory can actively reconstruct the past. The following discussion explores another active dimension of memory: how close attention to terminological choices can provides resources for response. Returning to classical rhetoric, my task is to rekindle memory about the Holocaust to fuel the inventional capacity to craft ways of avoiding such destructive



consequences in the future. Developing memory alone, while encouraging historical accuracy, does little to combat indoctrination. If understanding should be distinguished from acceptance, then inventive capacity should be encouraged as an antidote to overdoses of memory.

This essay represents one method of using close textual analysis of historical artifacts as a prelude to constructing alternatives to rhetoric that culminates in destructive action. Using Kenneth Burke's concepts of telos and logology, I trace the biologically-rooted terminology of anti-Semitism in Nazi Germany as it built toward a crescendo of eliminating populations deemed racially inferior. Identification of key metaphors--in this case, biological and medical terms--can reveal how linguistic resources that foster bigotry and genocide persist without necessarily becoming manifest in overt acts of violence. To reduce such latent facilitators of destruction, I demonstrate how terminological choices might be examined as contingent. Recognition of contingency paves the way for finding alternatives to the received terminology, thus avoiding the apparently natural, logical, and inevitable progression from inflammatory words to destructive deeds. More constructively, an improved understanding of the terminological path toward genocide opens possibilities for engaging in countermeasures that may interrupt the march toward what was assumed to be an unavoidable conclusion.

## The Philosophy and Method of Telogology

In his well-known essay "Definition of Man," Kenneth Burke describes humanity as "rotten with perfection" (1966, p. 16). The perfectionist impulse, he claims, "is central to the nature of language as motive" (Burke, 1966, p. 16). At the level of individual terms, the principle of perfection arises as the urge to call things by their "proper" names that capture their essence. Taken as a more historical principle, perfectionism describes the tendency of any



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terminology to invite and generate implications toward a supposed ideal essence or end result (Burke, 1966, pp. 18-19). The ideal would be the telos, and an "archtitectonic" could be constructed that investigates "the full (or, if you will, fulsome) terminologies that can be developed in connection with the 'logic of perfection'" (Burke, 1970, p. 300). 'Telogology,' then, traces how terminologies can be woven to facilitate the realization of or asymptotic approach to an identifiable ultimate goal.

Although a neologism, telogology does have roots in classical Greek thought. Burke configured the logological telos as a linguistic equivalent to the entelectry of Aristotelian physics (Burke, 1970, p. 300). Burke notes the "biological analogy" of the entelectry, with its doctrine of an entity that "implicitly contains' a future conforming to its nature" if the conditions appropriate for this development are present (Burke, 1970, p. 246). The teleological progression represents more than a metaphysical pronouncement that the final product or outcome somehow lies latent in the nature of the nascent entity. A pronouncement that the acorn implicitly contains the mature oak tree has little cognitive significance even as a metaphor. Instead, Burke remarks that the entelective does not reside in objects themselves. In this respect, Aristotle mistakenly confused developmental processes with the objects that undergo these transformations. Aristotle also used a spatial metaphor that adds puzzlement by confining the process to the object. Sometimes processes are identified so closely with properties of objects that the entelechy borders on personification. Substances have natural tendencies for movement, according to Aristotle. Objects move to the center of the earth because it is "their goal," and any individual body will obey "the goal of its impulse" (Aristotle, 1941, 296b.12, 297b.7). Aristotle's recurrent discussion of "natural" movement in the same treatise connects physical observations of motion



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with their metaphysical explanation as necessary entelechial progressions. Burke moves toward correcting these confusions by adding that the entelechy should be sought "in the ground of the process as a whole" (1970, p. 247; emphasis in original).

The concept of telos recently has been applied specifically to events preceding the Holocaust. Telos might bear relevance to the Holocaust in several senses. Kenneth Kronenberg (1997) defines 'telos' as a "[seemingly] inexorable movement toward a goal that is somehow seen as predetermined. A teleological argument involves a strong sense of predetermination from a First Cause or a final outcome." Kronenberg justifiably chides historians who use such arguments to portray the Holocaust as an inevitable outcome of anti-Semitic attitudes and doctrines. He argues that historical processes appear inevitable only through hindsight. Rejection of an inevitable telos, however, does not rule out the possibility that patterns of language use can emerge that reflect and direct action in certain logical directions.

Robert Michael (1997) contends that teleological arguments are unnecessary, since latent anti-Semitic attitudes tend to emerge without any explicitly stated ultimate outcome. Replying to both Michael and Kronenberg, Warren Thompson offers two other ways teleology is implicated in Holocaust studies:

First, given that there was a perceived 'Judenfrage,' then it would follow that a solution (end-result or 'telos') was needed. Thus, ultimately an 'Endloesung' (final solution). As well, one could see in official German thinking a kind of 'ethical consequentialism' or 'utilitarianism' (which is itself a variety of teleology), whereby the dominant rubric was the 'greatest good for the greatest number of [German] people.' A means to this end would be the elimination of



perceived threats to the welfare of the German people (such threats, for example, as the Jews, Communists, and others not in agreement with the tenets of National Socialism). (Thompson, 1997)

The <u>Endlösung</u> could function either as the ultimate objective guiding anti-Semitism or as the logical outcome of those attitudes and practices. As for consequentialism, if racial purity were the ultimate moral imperative, then a de facto teleology could develop as progressively more aggressive means were employed to approach that objective.

Up to this point, teleology has been applied to the Holocaust in a decidedly non-Burkean way. Unlike most historians, Burke concentrated on the interface between language and action. A recognizable teleology, therefore, would involve not only tracing a sequence of events approaching a logical goal or extreme but patterns of language use that contributed to making that end result easier to enact. Logology, then would demonstrate how the use of language made some recourses to action more likely than others. In short, logology involves the investigation of how language makes some options for acting more 'thinkable' and therefore more likely to be enacted than others. Burke was aware of the Nazi tendency toward perfectibility: "Nazism provides the most drastically obvious instance of the ways such 'cleansing' operates, by an ideology depicting a 'perfect' victim in the guise of a 'total' enemy (a scheme involving redemption both by blood and by power)" (1970, p. 224). The perceived Jewish menace was not merely a postulate; it was actively built and reinforced through language. Unfortunately, Burke never outlined a general method for revealing how the modus operandi of reinforcing a perfect victim operates. He certainly never explored how terministic choices and political practices were mutually implicated in contributing to particular historical events.



Since logology is not a historical process but the juncture of action and language, the sequence of terminology and events need not progress linearly toward an ultimate goal. Nevertheless, a critic should be able to discern the evolution of a logic that makes some courses of action more thinkable and preferable to enact in accordance with the terministic choices that have been made. The evolution represents a logical or conceptual but not necessarily a temporal linguistic progression. In fact, Hitler's most vitriolic public denunciations of Jews occurred most frequently before 1933. Once he came under greater public and especially international scrutiny, Hitler did not want to risk alienating potential political allies by public displays of rabid anti-Semitism (Gordon, 1984). On the other hand, Das Schwarze Korps, directed primarily to the racially elite SS, dramatically increased the frequency of its attacks on Jews from 1938 through 1939. More important, after the pattern for racist language was set, the momentum moved toward treating racial issues in biological or medical terms. Such a convergence of language used by scientific researchers and political leaders fueled metaphoric discussion of racial matters. Instead of asserting directly that particular races should be exterminated, a chain of logic developed that justified ever more drastic measures to combat threats to racial quality.

#### The Unfolding Rhetorical Telos toward Genocide

It is tempting to conclude that posing the problem of Jewish influence also posed the "Final Solution" to eradicate the source of the problem. Rather than try to trace exactly when the Final Solution became public knowledge, this section tracks the logical pathway toward extermination by showing that outcome as a discursively sustained terminus with many preliminary phases.



The language associated with racial science had a teleological nature. The political regime and the research conducted in racial science shared this trait with metaphysical systems having an orientation toward a future utopian vision (Blackburn, 1985). Language use in this context is generative in the sense that it opens possibilities for pursuing lines of thought outlined by symbols, metaphors, and other figurations. This does not mean that everything said becomes reality, but it presents a framework to track the logical development and consequences of terminological choices. Minimally, the selection of terms affects how audiences understand an issue, and it might well influence the selection of actions based on that understanding. The rhetorical telos toward genocide may be traced in the terms employed to explain the measures suggested as remedies for threats to racial quality.

How was the linguistic logic of genocide constructed? To begin, the descriptions employed to contrast Jews with 'genuine' Germans, or Jews with the Aryan or Nordic races, consistently established and reinforced sets of antinomies. Jews represented the antithesis of all predispositions, personality traits, and behavioral characteristic connected with the Nordic soul or spirit. For issues relevant to race, the alternatives were clearly defined and mutually exclusive, so they in effect yielded dichotomous decision schemes. When decision alternatives are treated as exhaustive and as mutually exclusive, interpretation becomes a matter of following the logical sequence of the scheme. Krippendorf (1980) points to this feature as the reason why decision schemes often generate highly reliable results in content analysis. The treatment of life as a struggle fueled the dichotomies, because a struggle requires antagonistic forces. With sets of pre-established alternatives whose existence and comprehensiveness were endorsed as



scientifically valid, any deviation from the scheme required invention of other alternatives and defending them against the authority of a science that claimed access to absolute truth.

The first step in the logical chain consisted of establishing irreconcilable differences between Germanic races and Jews. The German nation supposedly was shaped by a unique racial heritage. The assumption of uniqueness fostered the differentiation of 'true Germans' from foreigners, with a foreigner defined (regardless of legal definitions) as anyone who did not manifest Nordic racial characteristics. The assertion of uniqueness simultaneously melded the German Volk into a unified collectivity and solidified boundaries around the collectivity so that outsiders were excluded (Mosse, 1970). In the midst of world disorder, National Socialism offered an island of certainty that presented "our way to a new—to our—form of the spiritual [seelischen] content of our struggles" (Wachen und Kampfen, 1935, p. 1). The Nordic or Aryan spirit amounted to the racial soul that produced a uniquely German culture.

Irreconcilable differences provided a basis for physical separation, just as they constitute grounds for divorce in some states. Identification of races allowed differentiation, but if differentiation were to go on to separation it had to become absolutized. Biological terminology and concepts enter the picture here. If two organisms were absolutely different and one threatened the other, then they had to be separated. The separation stage in the logical chain apparently would lead to a 'separate but equal' policy: "The Germans bear no hatred against this alien racial element, but they are firmly resolved that the political influence of this element in the German nation must be removed [beseitigt]" (Hoffmann, 1935, n. p.). The mere possibility of mingling with Jews posed a danger to any European race: "The pure European character of the Italians" would be "destroyed through crossing with non-European races" (Grundsätzliches, 1938, p. 2). This warning echoed the recurrent theme that any mixture with an alien race



corrupted the superior racial elements, a pessimistic conclusion stemming directly from Gobineau.

The same conflict between incompatible and irreconcilable races occurred on an individual scale. Racial mixture, otherwise known as contamination of the blood, remained a threat as long as the possibility of intermingling arose. The biological causes of national decomposition [Zersetzung] were recurrent, as Walter Gross, architect of the Nuremberg Laws, observed: "The consequences of such mixture with alien blood were eternally that a *Volk* became at odds with itself, its past, and all values of history, and thereby lost the roots of its strength" (1933, n. p.). Gross brought the lesson home in the next sentence, showing that racial mixture disrupted the organic harmony of a nation: "The nation in which men reluctantly carry two souls in their breast can never obtain inner peace and with it external strength, which are necessarily carried through in the great life of nations [Völkerleben]" (1933, n. p.). This disruption was not only a historical fact, but a continuing biological process, as noted by the shift away from the past tense and the invocation of the necessary laws of life. Phrased in more genetic terms, the impure bloodstream cannot pass on the desirable hereditary characteristics carried by pure Aryan blood.

Mere physical separation could not suffice as a safety measure against threats to racial quality. Separation was insufficient as a precaution against racial degeneration, so the next step involved assurance of racial purity. "Now it is naturally not enough that the races be separated. It is also necessary that they remain pure" (Staemmler, 1933, p. 56). The danger lay in the assumption that "the Jew in itself is no problem. But the spirit or lack of spirit that they spread is what is called influence" (Stark, 1937, p. 6). Even if the chance for physical exposure to alien



races declined, the subjection to influence from those races remained. The solution lay in more drastic measures: "We have to destroy the Jewish spirit" (Stark, 1937, p. 6). The logic seemed compelling, since Johannes Stark concluded his discussion of Jewish influence by commenting: "This article is basically so self-explanatory and correct that any explanation is unnecessary" (1937, p. 6). Such a comment shows just how obvious racial theories had come to appear.

Separation could not succeed if two or more races failed to coexist. Mere separation failed to isolate one race from the dangers posed by another. Incompatibility of races introduced the idea of competition, and the invocation of Darwinian competition to survive gave antagonistic racial relations an aura of inevitability. The hope for German renewal, "the new springtime" that would assure immortality of the German nation, arose from following the consequences of natural selection (Astel, 1935, n. p.). The head of the Thüringian Regional Office for Racial Affairs drew the logical conclusion: "A people [Volk] which has recognized racial fitness [Rassentüchtigkeit] not only as the basis of all its achievements, but also draws the necessary conclusions from that, a people that eliminates all life unworthy of living [alles lebensunwertige Leben . . . ausschaltet]" (Astel, 1935, n. p.) would restore its prosperity. Citing historical precedent in the exposure of the decrepit and ill during ancient times, "continual extermination [Vernichtung] in countless generations of life incapable of self-preservation" assumed the character of a time-honored practice, unlike "the revolt of lunatics against natural laws" (Astel, 1935, n. p.). This type of remark expressed the sentiments of many racial scientists, who deplored what they considered a waste of resources on prolonging the life of those with incurable diseases. If particular races were identified as diseased, then the same costbenefit analysis would apply to them as well. Those deemed racially less worthy were associated



with the physically and mentally handicapped. The ease with which disability and racial identity were blended shows that the euthanasia program and the extermination of "alien" races were contiguous. The script of the 1936 film Victim of the Past [Opfer der Vergangenheit], produced by the Racial Political Office and the Propaganda Ministry, comments on a Jewish patient in a mental asylum: "Even in illness a patient reveals her race through speech and gesture." To leave no doubt about the point, the narration continues: "The Jewish race is particularly heavily represented among the insane, and provisions are made for their care too. Healthy German national comrades have to work to feed and clean up after them" (Burleigh, 1994, p. 190).

Eradication of a menace to national health and security did not assume the character of murder. Instead, a united opposition and elimination of Jews presented an alternative to force, which might be seen as an aggressive measure instead of as a response to evils instigated by Jews themselves. Readers of Völkischer Beobachter were urged to support "not individual acts, not acts of force—but systematic economic eradication [Ausmerzung]!" (Wie werden, 1938, p. 2). Long before this article appeared, racial matters had been placed in the context of public health. This treatment of racial degradation as a threat to public health forged a link between scientifically authorized steps to eradicate disease and politically endorsed measures to eliminate threats to racial quality. The ritual repetitiveness of an article in Das Schwarze Korps captures how appeals to health were invoked to stress the imperative to secure racial quality. Beginning with the statement "National health [Volksgesundheit]—that is the sole guarantor of the life of the people [Volk]," the reiteration of the term 'health' [Gesundheit] solidifies the justification of racial policy [Rassenpolitik] (Gehört, 1937, p. 6). The word 'health' begins the next five



consecutive sentences. Placed as an interjection, the term itself infuses and heads the discourse, just as the controlling images of health and disease dominated discussions of Jews.

The justification for policies directed against Jews was presented to newspaper readers as a logical consequence of the findings of racial science. In 1933, a three-part series in Völkischer Beobachter titled "The Liquidation of the German Jewish Question" outlined the threat Jews posed to Germany. Citing demographic figures that showed the Jewish population would not decline, articles explained why the expansion of Jewish influence demanded immediate action. This action should not carry the taint of anti-Semitism, since measures to combat Jews were based on "heretofore unknown facts and details" that included "entirely factual material" that the Hearst newspapers in the United States confirmed (Die Liquidation, 1933, n. p.). Protection from the Jewish menace became both a patriotic and a logical duty. Not only the laws of the state but the laws of reason guided audiences to the conclusion that the Jewish question must be solved.

Discourse employing scientific-sounding (scientistic) terminology allowed repressive political measures to appear in the light of medical intervention, a reaction against a threat of disease or contamination instead of an initiative against opposition to the Nazi regime. In the combat against illness, rationally weighing the sides to an issue did not enter the picture. Instead, the only choice was disease or health. In his explanation of the Nazi party program, distilled into its manifesto known as The 25 Points, Gottfried Feder lay the groundwork for banning Jewish influence on public opinion. Framing the issue in terms of fumigation or detoxifying, he proclaimed: "[T]he profound injury [die tiefen Schädigungen] done to our German artistic and intellectual life at the hands of the Jewish dictatorship must be stopped by appropriate measures,

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especially by the disinfection [Entgiftung] of the press" (Feder, 1934/1971, p. 62; Feder, 1938, p. 30). This terminological choice proved auspicious, since it helped the discursive stage for later discussions of preventive health measures that would prevent infestation and domination by pathogens. The images of medical emergency also were perfectly consistent with framing the Jewish Question [Judenfrage] as a health issue, with the growth of Jewish influence confronted as a biological and not just a political threat.

The danger of racial deterioration called for a cure that might inflict some pain, but that price bore no comparison to the pernicious disease itself. Hitler treated public policy in these terms: "Now, healing a national body [Volkskörpers] from a deep and difficult illness is not a question of finding a prescription that itself is completely free of poison; not seldom it involves destroying a poison through an antidote" (Hitler, 1961, pp. 39-40; Hitler, 1928/1961, p. 74).

The biologistic (i.e. framed in the terms but not the methods of biological science) focus of political decisions encompassed any force that opposed National Socialism. Goebbels described the crushing of communism in Germany as "a radical cure," placing political prerogatives under the rubric of medical necessity (1933, n. p.). Public health imagery could serve a useful purpose by offering a basis for building public consensus that transcended political beliefs and affiliations. If people could agree on nothing else, they could still draw together in the face of a menace to their health. Robert Ley, head of the Labor Front, identified alcohol, tobacco, and other "poisons" as threats to public health, and the danger they posed called for struggle [Kampf] and an assemblage for combat [Kampfsversammlung]" (1939, p. 102).

The call for decisive political action arose at the intersection of science and politics. In a popular explanation of racial hygiene, educator Ernst Wegner explained the need to remove alien



racial elements by restricting immigration. Combining advocacy for a policy initiative with concern for health, he invoked the authority of the New Testament. "If we want to make the German nation strong and great, we must cure the sickness afflicting it. The Bible says, 'If an eye is afflicted, pluck it out" (Wegner, 1934, p. 10). The interpretive liberties taken with Matthew 18:9 signify more than unskilled Biblical hermeneutics. This ready employment of holy authority indicates how compatible religious and biologistic justifications of racial hygiene became by treating protection of racial quality as a holy mission.

The use of biologistic terms by racial scientists causes little surprise, since they did deal routinely with matters relevant to public health. They did add a twist to discussions of health when they turned toward race. Since racial identity and influence transcended mere physical appearance or presence, matters of health and illness moved to a more metaphysical realm. Since alien races posed a spiritual threat to Germany, sickness could arise from a conflict between different racial characteristics. Unless alien blood were purged, unless behavior harmonized with the propensities of the racial soul, "spiritual deformity [seelische Verbildung]" would result (Clauss, 1929, p. 93). These threats to racial quality called for racial scientists to assume the capacity of diagnosticians who would identify the signs of the nation's illness, then determine its causes. The "internal causes of decay" would "lead to a hollowing out of the race and the death of the nation" if left untreated (Staemmler, 1933, p. 11).

Burke's revivification of the Aristotelian entelechy suits racial science particularly well.

The examination of 'scientific' anti-Semitism has repeatedly called attention to the biologistic leitmotif in discourse about Jews, and this biological mindset was central to articulations of the state itself. I believe Burke alludes to the entelechy not being a monadic concept applicable only



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to each individual object, but to the <u>interaction among terms and between terms and events</u> that lends discourse a logic that appears coherent and necessary. The entelechy therefore moves from a metaphysical explanation of physical phenomena to an observable patterning (whether intentional or not) of language wherein terminological choices contribute to a non-deterministic structuration of responses.

If the rhetorical telos may be conceived as material process because of its manifestation as observable networks of terms, then Burke may have initiated a connection between the entelechy and ideology. A terminological network that sustains power interests sounds remarkably similar to the idea of ideology as discourse (i.e., socially contextualized language-use) that attempts to legitimize claims power by naturalizing them (Eagleton, 1991, pp. 9, 20). While this essay offers only a general and provisional characterization of ideology, it does show that the principle of the entelechy can play a role in understanding political constructions of reality. Indeed, the key terms that linked racial science with Nazi political aims formed a network that gave progressively more drastic anti-Semitic measures an aura of inevitability.

The "logic of perfection" that the entelechy represents fulfills the human desire for "ultimate principles of reward and punishment," a theological notion that has its scientific parallel in definitive explanations (Burke, 1970, p. 301). The ideal of perfectibility explains some of the attractiveness of eugenics. Burke made a more specific connection to Nazism with his recognition that the principle of racial superiority gave Germans a positive goal, which contributed to the inertia toward perfection of the Aryan race (1973, p. 203). The reverse side of perfection, the perfect enemy, was concretized as the Jew. Burke pointed out this demonizing of Jews when discussing Mein Kampf, but he did not explain its appeal as a reverse entelechy



(1973, p. 203). Scapegoating Jews enacted a progression toward ever more perfect demonization, an ever-present anti-Aryan known as the Eternal Jew. The perfect victim or enemy complements the perfect master. Progression in either direction—toward harsher characterizations of Jews or more indulgent portrayals of Aryans—more clearly distances the designated racial groups and reinforces associations of Jews with contamination or "defilement" (Burke, 1970, p. 224).

### **Pedagogical Applications and Exercises**

Revealing the rhetorical telos toward genocide prepares the way for inventing alternative terminological frameworks that interrupt the progressive radicalization of difference and introduction of racial hierarchies. This section suggests a few concrete methods for constructing responses to the terminological and ideological choices presented via the rhetorical telos. These exercises are designed to cultivate greater critical awareness of the propagandistic potential of language while maintaining sensitivity to an idea's genesis in a particular historical environment.

### **Metaphorical Redirection**

More than a decade before World War II, Whitehead noted how the nineteenth century left a rhetorical legacy built on hatred and incompatibility: a zero-sum struggle for existence and heightened awareness of human incompatibilities with each other. He suggested that the evolutionary metaphor could be subverted to facilitate more humane interactions. Accepting the basic premises of evolution, one could argue that "[s]uccessful organisms modify their environment. Those organisms are successful which modify their environments so as to assist each other" (Whitehead, 1925, pp. 183-184). Whitehead interrupts the rhetorical telos from



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competition to incompatibility to overt warfare. He redirects the evolutionary metaphors away from conflict and toward cooperation.

To enact this metaphoric redirection, one would identify the central terms that support a particular ideological commitment. In the case of anti-Semitism during the Nazi era, we have seen that clusters of biological-sounding terms were applied metaphorically to Jews and to racial issues generally. Metaphorical redirection would proceed to unravel implications of the terminology that contrast with the interpretations previously advocated by the metaphors. For example, if different races are understood as different species, that assumption need not logically entail cutthroat competition for resources. The metaphoric connection between races and species (although logically faulty in itself) could generate narratives of cooperation despite difference. Instead of advancing mutual destruction, the species metaphor could spawn tales of how genetic diversity promotes health and ideological diversity improves the quality of arguments.

Such a metaphorical redirection has been attempted in the realm of corporate ethics.

Accepting the basic structure of the environment as consisting of humans and non-humans, the ethic of stewardship simply reinterprets how humans interacts with their surroundings. Instead of humans treating their environment and each other as resources to be used and dominated, stewardship revises those relationships in the direction of caring and cooperation (Naisbitt, 1994). Without resorting to personifying nature (as in the Gaea mythos), metaphoric redirection expands the repertoire of relationships that can be envisioned within an existing metaphorical framework. In linguistic terms, metaphors become more polysemic.



#### **Comic Reframing**

One way to disrupt the apparently inevitable progression of a logical chain is to reinterpret it to make the entire line of reasoning seem humorous. Similarly, the most oppressive situations sometimes can become more bearable when recast in humorous terms. Just before the Nazi annihilation of the Vilma ghetto, a Jewish theater troupe performed satirical plays. Half a century later, a resident of the ghetto still could laugh as she recalled songs she and her friends sang about the Nazi guards who were oblivious to food smugglers (Jenkins, 1994). These humorous responses to crises represent more than mere gallows humor. Comedy in these dire situations transgresses the rigid order that would be imposed on the Jewish population. Laughter thereby becomes a subversive act, especially since the ability to laugh at a situation implies that one can gain some distance from it, refusing to become a mere victim (Jenkins, 1994). It is no accident that defiant laughter is understood as a gesture of independence, transforming resignation into enjoyment.

The first comedians to reframe Nazism in comic terms were Charlie Chaplin (The Great Dictator, 1940) and the Three Stooges (You Nazty Spy, 1940). These comedians used reductio ad absurdum to show the ridiculous consequences that would ensue from blind obedience to authority and obsession with power (Schwartzman, 1997). The burlesque parodies of Hitler, for example, exaggerated his mannerisms to the point that they became interruptions rather than accompaniments of his verbal messages. Instead of simply stalling the logological movement toward a telos, a comic version actually can reverse the rhetorical telos by pointing out the absurdity of the progression.



Comic reframing is fairly easy to incorporate into classroom settings. Inviting comic responses encourages a creative deconstruction that reminds interpreters that no version of ideas is exempt from doubt. Leni Riefenstahl's Triumph of the Will, for example, could generate comic countermeasures (Schwartzman, 1993). Part of the film could be shown, then viewers would be asked to construct the next scene that would proceed logically from the one they just saw. These constructions, however, should be designed to oppose or undermine the principal theme of preceding scenes. For example, a viewer might append to a scene of neatly ordered military columns a scene where a soldier falls out of step and causes an entire column to tumble to the ground. A variation of the exercise would be to ask viewers to describe hypothetical outtakes that might prove embarrassing to the filmmakers. This exercise poses the challenge of creating variant messages while maintaining logical continuity within the artifact itself. The objective is to disrupt the apparent inevitability of a message's logical progression.

#### **Implications**

Probably the greatest challenge facing those who engage in Holocaust studies is to cultivate an accurate understanding of the past while trying not to relive it. Telogology offers a way to appreciate how momentum built toward a mentality that would treat genocide as a logical outcome and necessary consequence of racial doctrines. Attention to the rhetorical telos allows interpreters to focus on how language facilitates action instead of calling for analysis only after violence has erupted. By concentrating on evolving patterns of language use, telogology reveals the possible courses that action could take and which deeds are authorized by the terms that lie at the center of public discourse.



Beyond its ramifications for examining the Holocaust, the current study also demonstrates that thoroughgoing research in the rhetoric of science must be grounded in "primary texts and actual practices" (Gross, 1993, p. 305). If it is to bear relevance to actual social problems, telogology must be empirical rather than speculative, surveying how terminology becomes manifest in action. By exploring the dynamics of textuality, rhetorical studies can offer insight regarding how specific courses of action are promoted and justified discursively. Such insights extend beyond pointing to artifacts and proclaiming, "Look! Rhetoric!" The fact that events in Nazi Germany played out the scenarios that unfolded rhetorically should demonstrate that this rhetorical analysis goes beyond offering a prescriptive reading without regard for how the texts were appropriated by audiences. Steve Fuller (1993), for example, explains that little can be gained from prescriptive readings that serve simply as suggestions that do not document how texts actually were used. The chilling fact about the discourse surrounding racial science lies in how well the rhetorical telos matches historical developments that made the telos realizable. The challenge remains, however, to employ the same critical techniques predictively to chart the likely avenues that action could take based on the paths of legitimization cleared discursively. Even if such a predictive project is not realized, retrodictive rhetorical studies can contribute to understanding how policies and actions may be justified after the fact and how these justifications structure responses.

The consideration of racial science suggests a route toward "robust generalizations across cases," the type of knowledge the rhetoric of science has been accused of failing to produce (Gross, 1993, p. 304). Rather than rest content with illumination of the machinations of



discourse in Nazi Germany, this study offers methods for approaching any conjunction of racial hierarchies with biologistic metaphors.



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Roy Schwartzman	University of South Carolina
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University of South Carolina	Date: /
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